2: Mountford
773, 778, 776, 821

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[Materials pertaining to these categories will also be found in category 532.]

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773 [372] Puzzled over this new phenomenon, *Jurumu* placed the smouldering wood-dust into the pith of a dead pandanus palm and blew upon it. To the surprise of both men the speck became larger and larger, finally bursting into a flame. This frightened the men so badly that they rushed to *Purukupali* and asked him to destroy the strange thing they had made. But when *Purukupali* saw the blazing wood and felt its heat he realized that *Jurumu* and *Mudati* had inadvertently discovered something that would give the aborigines not only light to dispel the darkness, but heat to cook their food and to keep them warm.[14]

Calling his sister, *Wuriupranala*, he gave her a torch of bark lit from the blazing log and told her that it was her duty to keep it alight always. *Tjapara*, [821] who later became the moon, was given a smaller torch.

With the coming of light and heat, the descendants of *Mudungkala* spread over the island, hunting and camping in places which, at the close of the creation period, became their totemic country.

About that time, two men, *Puruti* and *Jirakati*, were spearing fish in Tiaupu, a freshwater swamp at Piper Head, near the northern entrance to Apsley Straits, when they noticed, by the movements of the stems of the water-lilies, some large creature moving about under the water.

Not knowing it was his mother, *Tipuru-undunga*, *Puruti* speared her in the [823] neck. Screaming with pain and urinating in her fright, *Tipuru-undunga* rushed into the sea, which in those days was fresh water, polluting it so much with her blood and urine that it became as salt as the sea of today.

The wounded *Tipuru-undunga* changed herself into the tall, stately bird, [825] the jabiru (*Xenorhynchus asiaticus*) which now lives on the edge of the fresh-water lagoons; while the fishermen, *Puruti* and *Jirakati* became the sea-osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*) and the graceful white-headed sea-eagle (*Haliaetus leucogaster*).[15]

During those early *palaneri* times, a man, *Jirakupai*, lived beside a fresh-water lagoon, *Jirininga*, near Cape Fourcroy, south-western Bathurst Island. He had married two sisters, *Kurarura* and *Jaknia*.

Jirakupai was an expert in the making of both the large many-barbed, male [411] spears, *tunkaringa*, which have a row of barbs on one side (Pl. 32A), and the female spears, *tunkaguni*, with their double row of barbs (Pl. 32B). Both forms are now used in the *pukamuni* rituals.

[14] The aborigines distinguish between light (*milajuka*) from the sun or burning wood, and heat (*ikwani*) from glowing coals.

[15] The large hawk-like birds, *Jirakati*, the sea-eagle, *Puruti*, the sea-osprey, and *Mudeni*, the fork-tailed kite, appear as men in a number of the myths. In each one they transformed themselves from men into birds.

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773 Still railing, *Purukupali* picked up the dead body of his son, which *Bima* had wrapped in a sheet of paper-bark, and walking backward into the sea, called out loudly as the waters closed over his head,

Maulantenili awangini tangini nu nu.
(You must all follow me; as I die, so must you all die.)

[823] The place where *Purukupali* died, adjacent to Impanali, on the east coast of Melville Island, became a whirlpool so strong that any aboriginal who approached it in a canoe would be drowned. When *Tjapara* saw what had
773 happened, he changed himself into the moon. But he did not entirely escape
● 821 the decree of *Purukupali*, for, even though *Tjapara* is eternally reincarnated, he has to die for three days. On any clear night, one can see on the face of the moon-man the wounds which he received in his fight with *Purukupali* so long ago.

X 532 One bark painting, Pl. 28, c, deals with the death of *Purukupali* and his
773 son *Djinini*. At *a*, is the whirlpool off Impanali Point, eastern Melville Island, where *Purukupali*, *b*, carrying his dead son, disappeared beneath the surface of the water.

The foot-marks of *Purukupali*, as he walked backward into the water, are the white dots at *c*; his arms, the two white bars, at *d*; and the dead child he carried is at *e*. The moon-man, *Tjapara*, at *f*, is asking for the body of the dead child to restore him to life.

The moon in the sky is shown at *g*; the forked throwing stick, *mihuuna* at *h*; and at *j* are the plain throwing sticks, *muruguna*, which when thrown by *Purukupali*, caused the wounds on the face of *Tjapara*.

At *l*, *l*, are the goose-feather bells, *tokwianga* (Pl. 31B), of *Purukupali*; *n*, *n*, his cane armlets, *jairinis* (Pl. 31H); *s* (upper left) is his cockatoo-feather head ornament, *primitiki*; *k*, *k*, are his bark baskets, *wanatuna*; *u*, his firesticks; *o*, is his camp fire; and *r*, his water-hole.

Tjapara's fireplace, an unlocalized spot, *Oulini*, in the sky, is at *q*; his camp-fire is at *p*, and his firestick at *t*.

4. THE PUKAMUNI OF PURUKUPALI

773 When *Tukimbini*, who was living at Murupianga, heard of the death of *Purukupali*, he sent a message stick to *Talinini* of the honey-people of central Bathurst Island, appointing him the ceremonial leader (*akuwia*) of the burial rituals.

At the same time, because they were near at hand, he told the people who lived at Murupianga, Wuriupi and Waiku, that as they were the appointed

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Circles *a*, *a*, are places where the women stood at *Purukupali's* ceremony, and lines *c*, *c*, the paths they made as they danced toward the central dancing ground, the *milimika*.

According to other informants, the honey-men from Bathurst Island and other groups from western Melville Island assembled and performed an *ilania* at Tuju, while the people from south and south-western Melville Island performed yet another *ilania* at Puntubu (Fig. 1).

At the conclusion of these *ilanias* the mythical people from the west met at Rulijunga, where *Mantinuria*, one of the eucalyptus-tree women (Pl. 18A) had prepared a ceremonial ground for them. Here the assembled people performed another *ilania*, after which they moved off as a body to Timbaranapi, where the "workers", having cut the poles and prepared the *pukamuni* spears, baskets and other paraphernalia, had already assembled for the final *ilania*.

After a ceremonial fight[33] and the performance of the *ilania* ceremony, the men and women travelled to Tapararimi by different paths to carry out the final rituals.

A simple bark painting, Pl. 2A, pictures the *pukamuni* ground of *Purukupali* at Tapararimi.

The lower black space is the ceremonial ground (*milimika*) on which the participants performed their dances, and the white area on the top, the several honey-men, one of whom, *Talinini*, was in charge of the rituals.

The five upright vertical panels are the *tudinis* (*pukamuni* poles); the lower line of black horizontal rectangles represents the red ochre, and the upper line of rectangles, black paint, with which the performers decorated themselves.

The dots represent paint on the bodies of the caterpillar men, the *Maludainini*, who, at the close of the ceremony, transformed themselves into the Milky Way.

The *pukamuni* rituals and those who mourned beside the poles at Tapararimi are illustrated on a bark painting, Pl. 2D, E.

The central black oval, *c*, is the swift whirlpool off Impanilli, where *Purukupali*, walking along the track, *f*, *f*, with his dead son in his arms, drowned himself.

[33] In the ceremonies of the present day, the "workers" when they return from cutting the poles, which are adjacent to the grave, are looked upon as *mopaditis* (spirits of the dead). Before the *ilania* can proceed, the *pukamuni* men and the "workers" take part in a ceremonial fight (Pl. 25D), in which the "workers" (as *mopaditis*) are vanquished. During creation times, a similar fight took place at Timbaranapi, when the *pukamuni* people from the west coast met the "workers" from the east.

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women by *d*, to a place, *n*, where they painted one another for the final *pukamani* rituals.

Whilst there, the fish-men engaged in the spear-throwing contest mentioned in the myth.[86] Their footmarks are in circle, *n*, and the places where the spears fell at *p*. *Pipinjawari*, who stood behind the others at *g*, threw his spear the furthest, a large eucalyptus tree, *k*, being the transformed spear. The spears of the other fish-men at *p* are smaller eucalyptus trees.

When everyone had finished decorating themselves, both men and women moved to *m*, where the burial poles had been erected around the grave, the women again reaching their destination by a different path, *k*. It was at the completion of these rituals that the fish-men quarrelled with *Pipinjawari* because he refused to give the "workers" presents for their duties.

5. THE CLOSE OF THE CREATION PERIOD

The escape of *Pipinjawari*, which brought the *palaneri* (creation period) to a close, was the signal for the mythical people to return to their camps and to transform themselves into the various birds, fish, reptiles, heavenly bodies and inanimate objects of today.

Tjapara, the moon-man, rose into the sky, his face and body deeply scarred with the wounds he had received in his quarrel with *Purukupali*. *Bima*, his lover, and the mother of the dead child, *Djinini*, still bearing the mark on her head where *Purukupali* had struck her with his throwing stick, became the curlew (*Numenius cyanopus*) which still roams the forest at night, wailing in remorse for her misdeeds and for the child she lost.

Wuriupranala, one of the daughters of the original creator, *Mudungkala*, changed herself into the sun-woman, who travels across the sky carrying the torch of blazing bark given to her by *Purukupali*. The *Maludaianini* men, with the ceremonial paint still on their bodies, became that sparkling galaxy, the Milky Way.

Tukimbini, the grandson of *Murupiangkala*, instructed the mythical people (many of whom were his wives and relatives), to establish a totemic place at their old camps on Melville and Bathurst Islands to create the aboriginal foods belonging to each place, and then to change themselves into the particular bird, reptile, fish or inanimate object with which that locality is now associated.

[86] At a *pukamani* ceremony we witnessed at Melville Island, one of the Bathurst Islanders, *Jikungkalani*, impersonating *Pipinjawari*, threw sticks, as spears, over the men carrying the poles to the grave, chanting "*Kaniprak wanikali kurinari*", meaning "We throw spears to find out who goes furthest."

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773 However, before all these changes took place, *Tukimbini* assembled the mythical people who had attended *Purukupali's* ceremony, and taught them the rules of behaviour, and the laws of marriage and tribal relationship they must always obey. *Tukimbini* also laid down the periods of light and darkness that still determine the daily cycle of aboriginal life.

512 821 [825] When the first light appears in the morning sky it is the melodious call of *Tukimbini*, now the yellow-faced honey-eater (*Meliphaga chrysops*) that wakens the aborigines from their sleep.

The sun-woman, rising above the eastern horizon with her blazing torch, is a signal for the aboriginal men, with spears and wooden clubs, to go hunting, and for the women, with bark baskets hanging from the sticks over their shoulders, to gather their food from the forest and the swamp-lands.

About mid-day, the sun-woman, cooking the food she has gathered, makes the heat of the day unbearable. The aborigines then retire to the shade of the trees until the late afternoon when they continue their food gathering, returning to camp to cook their evening meal just as the sun-woman sinks below the western horizon.

Soon, darkness creeps across the sky, the stars, *tapalinga*, show themselves and the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*, span the heavens. It is then [512] that the dried perspiration which the *Maludaianini* rub from their bodies, falls on the eyelids of the aborigines, making them so heavy that they cannot keep awake. Next morning, at dawn, *Tukimbini* wakes the aborigines to a new day.

776 778 The following is the list of the totemic places of Melville and Bathurst Islands, illustrated by bark paintings, the names of the totemic people and their relationships to each other.

Locality	*Totem*	*Relationship*
Murupianga	Tukimbini (bird)	Great-grandson of *Mudungkala*
Wuriupi	Garagalani (turtle)	Not known
	Wuriupranala (sun)	Daughter of *Mudungkala*
Panindu	Paninduela (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Wailu	Andjalui (fresh water)	Husband of *Wuriupranala*
	Kwouk-kwouk (frog)	Not known

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532 773 [124]

Although, in the interpretation of the paintings on this basket, gathered in the early days of the expedition, the designs were not given topographical meanings, there is little doubt that fuller inquiries would have shown that the designs and the topography were linked.

On Pl. 8c, D, *c*, pictures the body of the turtle-woman, *a*, *a*, being the front flippers, *d*, *d*, the hind flippers, *b*, the carapace, *g*, the head, and *e*, *e*, *e*, etc., the bones of the creature; the dotted background, *f*, represents the marks on the tortoise-shell of the carapace.

The Sun-woman, Wuriupranala, at Wuriupi

821 773

Every morning, the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*,[39] climbs a high mountain in the east, and, carrying her blazing torch of bark, travels across the sky, parallel to the earth. Sometimes, the sun-woman, to please her husband, powders her body with red ochre, the dust of which, flying into the sky, reddens the early morning clouds.

On reaching the western horizon the sun-woman extinguishes her bark torch, and, by the light from its glowing end, finds her way back to the east through the underground world, Ilara.[40] But, before setting out on that journey, *Wuriupranala* again decorates herself with powdered ochres thereby colouring both the western sky and the clouds.

532 773

Nine bark paintings, i.e. Pls. 5A, B, C, D, 6A, B, 7B, C, D, illustrate the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, and the topography of Wuriupi. The remainder of the paintings dealing with the sun are described under Astronomy, Chapter 7.

Pl. 5A is a painting on a small bark basket, which deals with the myth of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

The circle in the centre of each disc, of which there are sixteen, symbolises the sun-woman, the radiating lines being the rays of light at sunrise and sunset. The three wide vertical bands represent the track of the sun-woman as she moves across the sky, and the lines, linking the discs, the path in the underground world, Ilara, along which *Wuriupranala* returns to the east. The cross-hatched areas are rain, the dots, stars (*tapalinga*), and the short parallel lines, top and bottom, rain falling from the clouds.

The central dot on Pl. 5B, is the "eye" of the sun-woman seated in her paper-bark hut (the inner circle). The five radiating lines within the circle are the posts of her hut, the cross-hatching is her hair, and the five outer concentric circles are her hair-string belts.

[39] In one bark painting, Pl. 6oA, B, *Wuriupranala* and *Muripiangtala* alternately travel across the sky. This is the only time that *Muripiangtala* was referred to as a sun-woman.
[40] The moon returns to the east by a similar road.

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The vertical lines at the bottom of the painting symbolize the rays of the sun-woman as she rises in the east, and the groups of dots throughout the design, the stars, *apadinga*, in the night sky. 532x 773

On Pl. 5C, D, the two concentric circles, *d*, indicate the surface, while *a*, is the *imunka*,[81] or life centre of the sun.

The painting shows a number of different clouds; a thin misty cloud at *b*, heavy rain clouds which temporarily obscure the sun at *h*, *h*, *h*, etc., a mackerel sky at *c* (indicated by the short radiating lines), and cumulus clouds at *j*, *j*.

The colours of sunrise and sunset are indicated by the horizontal bands, *g*, *g*; while the lines of light, which sometimes radiate from the sunset, are at *e*, *e*, etc., and those from the sunrise at *f*, *f*, etc.

Pl. 6A, B, is a bark painting of Wuriupi, the totem place of *Wuriupranala*, the sun-woman. Her body, now a patch of jungle, is at *a*; her head at *n*, and her abdomen at *k*. Her arms are at *b*, *b*; her legs at *c*, *c*; her breasts at *j*, *j*; her ears at *m*, *m*; the chevron scars on her arms and back at *e*, *e*, etc. 532x 778

The windbreak of her camp, *d*, is a sandy beach at Wuriupi, and the shelter, under which she rested, is a large yam, whose leaves, vine and blossoms, are indicated by symbols, *h*, *h*; *l*, *l*; *v*, *v*, etc. Tracks made by the sun-woman are shown at *x*, *x*; *x*, *x*; red rocks on the beach at *g*, *g*; and black rocks at *f*, *f*.

Pl. 7B, a painting on one side of a *pukamuni* basket, also refers to the sun-woman. 532x 821

The sun is represented by the black circle in the lower section of the design, while the disc in the centre of the circle is the torch of blazing bark which the sun-woman carries across the sky to provide the world with light and heat. The white, upper disc represents the large thunderclouds which, at the beginning of the wet season, often obscure the sun.[82] The surrounding concentric circles and the parallel lines across the middle of the design symbolize the colours on the edge of the clouds at sunrise or sunset.

The lighter coloured diagonal lines refer to groups of cirrus clouds, and the darker, to monsoon clouds of the rainy season. The dots are the stars of the night sky.

The vertical black line in the middle of Pl. 7D, is the track across the sky of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*. The black disc across the bottom is the sun in the morning; the one immediately above, the sun at midday; the next,

[81] The *imunka* is a universal life essence which permeates all living things, the plants, the creatures and man. It is situated in the solar-plexus of man. This is the same life essence as that of the Pitjandjara tribe of the western deserts of Central Australia (Mountford, 1948, p. 111). [774] [171]

[82] When a thundercloud obscures the sun, the aborigines believe that *Andjahi* (fresh water) has taken his wife, *Wuriupranala*, to his camp.

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×532 ●821 the sun at mid-afternoon, and the disc on the upper edge, *Wuriupranala* at sunset.

The lighter coloured radiating bands are the lines of light from the blazing bark torch, carried by the sun-woman; the dark-coloured ovals between, a number of *tukimbinis* (yellow-eared honey-eaters), and the lighter coloured ovals, a number of *wuriuprinilis* (mistletoe birds).

In the centre of Pl. 7c, is the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, seated in her bark hut at Wuriupi. The central dark mark on her abdomen indicates body paint; the white lines, *a*, *a*, are her legs, *b*, *b*, her feet and *e*, *e*, her arms.

The dark-coloured oval, *g*, is the sun-woman's paper-bark hut; the light-coloured outer circle, *d*, is a bough shed built over the hut to keep it cool, and the short radiating lines between the two circles, the posts supporting the roof.

The Eucalyptus-tree Woman, Paninduela, at Panindu

773 The eucalyptus-tree woman, *Paninduela*, created the totemic country of Panindu, north-eastern Melville Island, the streams, fish, turtles, geese and other creatures, as well as water-lilies, spike-rushes and other plants that grow in the freshwater swamps.

778 Panindu is on the upper reaches of an unnamed river in north-eastern Melville Island; Wailu, the totemic place of the freshwater-man, *Andjalui*, is at the mouth of the same stream.

×532 778 On Pl. 9a, 2, *a*, *a*, are the Panindu waterholes; *b*, *b*, waterfalls which flow from upper to lower pools; and *c*, *c*, are lines of foam caused by the falling water. At *t*, *t*, etc., are *pubiaka*, and *u*, *u*, etc., paper-bark trees on the banks of the stream, and at *h*, *h*, and *j*, *j*, dead *pubiaka* and paper-bark trees lying in the water.

Two lagoons, or backwaters, are indicated at *c*, *c*; two sedge-covered swamps at *f*, *g*. Water-grass on the bottom of the swamp is shown by the cross-hatched areas, *s*, *s*.

The Freshwater-man, Andjalui

778 776 The totem place of the freshwater-man, *Andjalui*, is at Wailu, north-eastern Melville Island. At Wailu there also lived the frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*,[35] her son, *Pakadringa*, the man of the thunderstorms, and her two daughters, *Tominuka*, the woman of the monsoon rains, and *Bumerali*, the woman of the lightning.

[35] Some aborigines thought, but were not sure, that *Andjalui* was the husband of both *Kwouk-kwouk*, and the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

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Five bark paintings, Pls. 9C, D, 10B, D, 22A, B, and 58B, deal with Wailu and its inhabitants. 532x 778

On Pl. 9C, D, the totemic lagoon, Wailu, is at *a*, the outer circle, *b*, symbolizing the broken water of the stream, *f* (in circle above) as it runs over the stony bed of a watercourse into Wailu. At *d*, *d*, are the paper-bark and *e*, *e*, *pubiaka* trees which grow on its banks.

At *j*, *j* (below), and *s*, *s*, etc., are living paper-bark, and *m*, *m*, and *p*, *p*, etc., *pubiaka* trees on the bank; *n*, *n*, are dead paper-bark and *o*, *o*, *pubiaka* trees in the swamp. The cross-hatched areas throughout the painting symbolize watergrass on the bottom of the lagoon.

Pl. 58B, which is associated with Wailu, deals with the rainbow-woman, *Maratji*, the thunderstorm-man, *Pakadringa*, and the monsoon rain-woman, *Tomituka*. 532x 776

The four black horizontal bands represent the dark-coloured clouds of *Tomituka* (monsoon rain); the lighter-coloured chevrons indicate large cumulus clouds, the home of the man of the thunderstorms, *Pakadringa*; and the darker chevrons are the rainbow-women, *Maratjis*, who live at Maundu.

The Frog-Woman, Kwouk-kwouk, at Wailu

The frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*, lives with her family, *Pakadringa*, *Tomituka*, and *Bumerali*, at Wailu, the totem place of *Andjalui*. 776 778

The three children of *Kwouk-kwouk* always obey their mother, so when, in the wet season, the rain falls and thunderstorms rage, she croaks with joy over their handiwork. No aboriginal would dare to kill a frog; if he were so foolish, her son, *Pakadringa*, and daughter, *Tomituka*, would send down so much rain that everyone would be drowned. 821 825

Pl. 10B deals with the frogs at Wailu. The central black oval is the lagoon at Wailu. At *a*, *a*, are large paper-bark trees which grow in Wailu lagoon, and at *b*, *b*, another species of paper-bark which prefers the drier conditions of the banks. The frogs, which live in the lagoon, are indicated at *c*, *c*, etc.; a water-lily swamp is shown at *d*, *d*, and the white, broken water, running over fallen trees, at *e*, *e*. The groups of dots represent the water-grass, and the faint lines separating them, small streams of running water in an adjacent swamp. 532x 778

Pakadringa, Bumerali and Tomituka at Wailu

During creation times, before *Pakadringa* was transformed into the man of the thunderstorms, he was a hairy giant, huge in size, and repulsive in appear- 776

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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776 ance, with a long black body, short, thick legs and arms, and a pendant abdomen, caused by continuous over-eating.

Pakadringa, with his sister, *Bumerali*, the lightning-woman, her husband, *Kilipatu*, and their many children travel together in the thunderclouds.

776 821 *Bumerali*, the lightning woman, has flaked stone axes, called *rikas*,[84] mounted on long crooked handles, which she carries in either hand. With these, while travelling in the clouds with *Pakadringa*, she strikes the ground beneath, destroying the trees and sometimes the aborigines.[85] *Bumerali* becomes angry when her children jump from cloud to cloud. The sharp crack of the thunder which immediately follows the lightning flash is the voice of *Bumerali*[86] reprimanding her children for their disobedience.

Tomituka, *Pakadringa's* other sister, is the woman of the monsoon rain. At the start of the wet season, the trees and plants become happy when they hear the distant rumblings of *Pakadringa* for they know that *Tomituka* comes with him, bringing rain for their thirsty roots.

× 532 776 821 Pl. 10D illustrates the mythical *Pakadringa*, the man of the thunderstorms. The black central oval and the semi-circles at the top and bottom of the painting are the dark-coloured thunderclouds of *Pakadringa*. At *b*, *b*, etc., are white thunderclouds, and *c*, *c*, etc., red-coloured clouds which appear in the sky after a storm has passed. The designs *a*, *a*, etc., indicate the rainbow-women, *Marotji* (p. 154), and the dots on the background, the falling rain.

Pl. 22A, B, deals with the lightning woman, *Bumerali*. Her eyes are indicated at *a*, *a*; her breasts at *d*, *d*; her feet at *f*, *f*; her camps at *k*, *k*; and her nose is at *b*.

The crooked handles of her stone axes are at *c*, *c*, and the "road" of the lightning (the flash) is at *e*.

The upper crescent, *g*, is the thundercloud in which *Bumerali* and her family travel; *h*, a yellow cloud which forms after the storm has passed, *s*, *s*, *s*, are stringy-bark trees, and *n*, *n*, other trees killed by *Bumerali's* axe;

[84] Some of my informants said that the axes of *Bumerali* were made of a white stone which she had picked up at Moonga Hill, north of Turiturina, western Bathurst Island, where, I was told, there is an outcrop of quartz. Others said she made the axes from a white stone found in the upper world, Tuniruna, p. 171.

[85] There is a widespread belief throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and some of the Indonesian Islands, that the prehistoric stone axes, found by the peasant people, were thunderbolts (Mountford, 1955, p. 1). At Oenpelli (Mountford, 1956, p. 208) a lightning man, *Mamaragan*, carries stone axes on his hands and knees. With these axes he strikes the ground. It is of some interest to find the myth of such a widespread belief among the Australian aborigines.

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[86] The aborigines distinguish between the sharp crack of thunder (the voice of *Bumerali*) and the rumble of distant thunder, that of *Pakadringa*.

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a, *a* (the black areas), indicate stony hills near her camp in the upper world; and the dots on the background, the stars, *tapalingas*, which live in the upper world with the lightning woman.

The Cat-fish Woman, Piriloukala at Pirilou

Pirilou, on the upper Goose Creek swamps, is the totemic place of a mythical cat-fish woman, *Piriloukala*. She was sent by *Tukimbini* to create both the totemic country and the food necessary for the natives to live on it, i.e., geese, herolgas, ducks, freshwater goannas, turtles, waterlily bulbs, red and white fruited *Eugenia* trees, and the various kinds of yams that prefer the damp soil.

On Pl. 10C, the darker crossed circles are the black, and the lighter, the white rocks at Pirilou. Panels, such as *a*, symbolize the trunks of the paper-bark trees growing in the swamp; *b*, the many waterlilies on its surface, and the white vertical lines on the background, streams of fresh water in the swamp-lands.

The Fish-woman, Wuringa, at Arangu

Tukimbini sent the fish-woman, *Wuringa*, to establish a camp at Arangu, in Curtis Haven, northern Melville Island. Later, *Wuringa's* camp was transformed into a group of flat rocks which are uncovered only at low tide.

Wuringa created the aboriginal foods of the area, turtles, crabs, fish of all kinds, yams, cabbage palms and hives of wild honey.

Two bark paintings illustrate Arangu and its surroundings, Pl. 11C and Pl. 11D.

On Pl. 11C, *a*, is a long submerged reef at Arangu; *d*, *d*, *d*, smaller submerged rocks; *b*, *c*, long sand-bars, while at *e*, *e*, are jelly fish. The remainder of the ovals are oysters on the rocks at Arangu.

On Pl. 11D, *a*, is the totemic place, Arangu; *b*, represents the soft friable boulders near by; *c*, a large rock on the coast; *d*, wave breaking over it; *h*, white sand on the beach, and *j*, the sand and gravel on the sea bottom.

Symbol *e*, indicates black trepang; *f*, *f*, white trepang; *r*, an especially large trepang; *n*, a jelly fish, and *m*, a bed of oysters. At *k*, are many pearl shells, and at *s*, *s*, conch shells. A deep channel in Curtis Haven is indicated at *p*, a yellow rock under the water, at *o*, and the seaweed growing on the rocks at Arangu, by the lighter-coloured dots on the background.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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On the morning of the appointed day, the women went into the jungle, dug up a large number of both species of yams, brought them back to camp, and prepared them for cooking. 881

In the meantime, the male and female *Marukumuni* initiates had been sent to an appointed place in the jungle and told to wait until some of the *Mikingulas* visited them in the late afternoon. In the meantime other fully initiated men were painting the *Wadjeniati* initiates with a new body design (Pl. 42E).

In the late afternoon some members of the *kulama* party went to the place where the *Marukumuni* initiates were hiding, painted them black (Pl. 42E), and put new cockatoo feathers in their hair. While this was being done the male initiates pulled out their pubic hairs, and calling out "Booh-booh", threw them in all directions. When the decorations were complete, each initiate singed the hair from his legs but not his face, head or arms.[83] It is believed that this *Marukumuni* ritual assists in creating more thunder-storms and so prolonging the wet season. 302 881 [821]

Meanwhile, the remainder of the higher grades of the *kulama*, the *Mikingulas*, the *Mikiatarinas* and the *Mikintaras* with their female counterparts, went into the forest and, cutting the bark of the milk-wood tree (*Alstonia* sp.) used the white sap to paint their shoulders and faces, and to make a line down the centre of their abdomens. The men also put thick sap on their beards, which made them stand out stiffly around their faces.[84] 881 [386] [824]

By the time the *Marukumuni* initiates had been decorated, brought back to camp and seated behind a low screen of boughs, the edible yams were cooked and ready for eating.

The leader, taking one of the *juruguni* and one of the *karawani* yams, bit a small portion from each, chewed it up and spat it in all directions. His actions were repeated by all the fully initiated people. The aborigines believe that the portions of chewed-up yam make the *mopaditis* so sick (they are always present to watch the *kulama* rituals), that they leave the locality. All the *kulama* people, with the exception of the *Marukumuni* and *Wadjeniati* initiates then sat down to a meal of the edible yams. [775] [824]

The male initiates of the *Marukumuni* and *Wadjeniati* grades were given their food by the female initiates of their grade in the same manner as a *pukamuni* man, i.e., the food was placed in their mouths, it must not touch any part of their body. If this taboo were broken, the *mopaditis* would make them ill. [753] [626]

[83] The female initiates do not carry out this ritual.

[84] Spencer, 1928, p. 660, Pl. 463, who refers to this phase in his description of the *kulama* illustrates the decorated men.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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881 led by the *Mikinatrinas*, carrying the baskets, followed by the *Mikinaras*, the *Mikiatarimas*, and the *Mikingulas*. No *kulama* woman accompanied this party.

As the *kulama* men entered the jungle they separated, each searching for vines which indicated the presence of the yam.[89] Before digging, however, the [824] [753] *kulama* men, softly calling "Oom-oom", gently patted the ground to wake up the yams, for, should any yam get a fright, its spirit, becoming annoyed, would make everyone ill with the *kulama* sickness. When digging the yams, the men were most careful not to break even one of the fine roots (Pl. 44D).

On filling in the holes, the men again made the thunder call, "Oom-oom", [821] which, they said, would cause more rain to fall before the day was over. One aboriginal accidentally broke a *kulama* yam while digging it. Instantly, he was on his feet, and, with the broken yam in his palm, dodged in and out among the trees, to escape the spirit of sickness released by the angry yam. After a few minutes, however, he returned, placed the broken yam carefully in the basket with the rest, and resumed his digging. His companions said that it was fortunate that he had only damaged the yam slightly, otherwise, its spirit would have made not only the careless aboriginal, but all of the *kulama* people ill.

When sufficient yams were collected, the party returned to camp in the same order as they went out, i.e., *Mikinatrinas*, *Mikinaras*, *Mikiatarimas* and *Mikingulas*. The *Mikinatrinas* carried the yams to the foot of a blood-wood tree, called the *wuringaleta*, cleared the grass from around the base and, taking the yams from the basket, placed them on the ground. They were covered with leaves by the female initiates, the *Mikinatrininges*.

(4) *The Preparation of the Ceremonial Ground*

In the late afternoon, the *kulama* men and the male initiates, excluding the *Marukumuni* and the *W'adjeniatis*, prepared the ceremonial ground, the *milimika*.

372 The men walked toward an open space in the forest, and with low cries, 881 beat the ground with sticks, while the leader, pulling up a tuft of grass, threw it into the air. At the place where it fell, the men dug a small circle, the *tumarapi* (navel), in which the yams were to be cooked. Then, sitting down, the men pushed the sand and grass outwards with their feet until the *milimika*, about fifteen feet in diameter, was cleared and surrounded by a low mound of earth and grass.

[222] [137] [89] The *kulama* yam (*Dioscorea sativa*, variety *rotunda*) (Pl. 44D), is about the size of a hen's egg and covered with hairs similar to a beard. It is held in the palm of the hand until it is placed carefully in the bark basket.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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177 *Wurarkui* described some of his experiences when he visited Brisbane to
533 dance before the Queen of England.
539 (*a*) "I saw the big boat, Marella, beside the jetty at Brisbane, many motor
881 cars, boats and trains. The boats went under a big bridge over the river, and across that bridge went the motor cars. The ship's flags were flying."

Another man sang.

(*b*) "The *tapalingas* (stars) are like those on the American flag in Darwin. They lifted the flag up in the morning, and let it down at night."

(*c*) "The *tadawali* (shark) swims about the sea looking for stingrays."

[535] The onlookers applauded this song and asked the singer to perform the shark dance (Pl. 300), which he did to the delight of all.

(*d*) "I am a wireless man, and have sent native tucker (food) all over Australia. The Native Affairs branch in Darwin listened in."

(*e*) "Leo Hickey's boat comes quickly to Snake Bay with a cargo of food from Darwin."

Another *Mikingula* chanted a lengthy song describing the making of a wooden canoe, the felling of a tree in the jungle, the length and shape of the craft and the final launching.

After these songs, the *kulama* men rested in the shade, and the initiates sat by the side of the *milimika*, until about sunset.

(10) *Taking the Cooked Yams to Water*

881 The *Mikingulas*, starting from equally spaced positions on the periphery, crawled toward the basket of cooked and sliced yams standing in the centre of the *milimika*, and pretended to fight over it. While this was going on, the women, beating sticks together, called out "Brr-brr", as did the owl-man, [535] *Purutjikini*, at the first *kulama*. Meanwhile two of the *Mikingulas* vigorously performed the crocodile dance (Pl. 301). Then with a loud cry, one of them picked up the basket containing the yams, and followed by most of the women and children, carried the basket to the water.

With long-drawn-out calls, and the sound "Brr-brr", the men tipped the cut-up yams from the basket on to a grass bed on the bottom of the stream. While the leader patted the surface of the water, the rest of the people called in a high trilling note, similar to the mosquito call of the *pukamuni* ceremony, [821] ending up in a loud *yoi*. These calls, they said, would cause still more thunder storms and heavy rain.

533 It was quite dark (about 7.30 p.m.) when the *kulama* people assembled to
881 hear the *Mikinatrina* initiates sing for the first time. For, at this stage of the ceremony, each male initiate of the *Mikinatrina* grade was invited by the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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533 (*b*) "The spirits of my children are dancing on a sand-bank beside the sea."
539 (*c*) "My children's spirits are paddling about in a canoe, looking for fish
881 and turtle eggs."

Another man first chanted a secular song, which he had tried to do earlier, but had forgotten the tune.

[177] (*d*) "I saw a tractor pulling big trees out of the ground to make the new aerodrome."

Then he continued with his *Kararijui* song.

(*e*) "My little children have gone to the island, but they must come back because they are short of tobacco." After a pause he continued, "They're back because someone has just taken the tobacco out of my hand."

(12) *The Ceremonial Eating of the Kulama Yam*

881 On the third day, at early dawn, everybody went to the swamp to eat some of the prepared yams. The leader quietly plucked a bunch of grass from the edge of the water "to waken the *kulama* yam", for should it get a fright the yam would cause much sickness in the camp.

The fully initiated men, the *Mikingulas*, ate the first few pieces "to tame the yam", after which everyone took some to eat. This ritual ensures for all the participants, good health until the next *kulama*. Some of the prepared yam is left in the water for others to eat should they desire it.

This ritual completed the *kulama* ceremony. Everyone returned to his camp, and, except for the initiates of the lower grades, pursued a normal life. The grass ring and the pieces of antbed were left in place but the *kulama* ground and the *milimika* were deserted (Pl. 45D).

784 There are, however, a number of taboos and restrictions associated with
881 the deserted *kulama* ground and oven. For instance, should anyone make
[778] his camp or light a fire in the deserted *milimika*, the spirit of the *kulama* yam would be offended and blind the culprit.

If anyone were so foolish as to toss a piece of the antbed, from the oven, sand from the *milimika* or a fragment of cooked *kulama* yam into the sea, *Marayi*, the rainbow, would be angry and create heavy seas and storms.
● [821] The aborigines of the Cape Fourcroy area were convinced that a recent hurricane, which devastated the whole area, was caused by some foolish person throwing a piece of *kulama* into the sea.

[224] On the other hand, if a *kulama* man takes a piece of antbed from the oven, and throwing it at a tree, hits the mark, his hunting will be successful, until the next *kulama* ceremony. But, if he misses his mark, his hunting will be poor.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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CHAPTER V

The Spirit People of the Tiwi

The Tiwi believe that a number of spirit people live on the land, in the swamps, the sea and the sky of their tribal country. They are: the *mopaditis* (p. 61), the spirits of the dead whose homes are in the various totemic localities; the *Ninguis* (p. 124) of the mangrove swamps of south-western Bathurst Island; the *Maratjis*, or rainbow people, living in the swamps; the *Pitipituis*, or spirit children, who later become aboriginal children; the sea-dogs, *Wankuis*, of the shallow sandbars of the sea; the *Papinjuwaris*, the meteor-men, who live in a place in the sky, far away to the west, and the *Paramanuas*, who often befriend the aborigines.

Although the aborigines are afraid of the *Papinjuwaris*, the *Maratjis* and, to some extent, the *Mopaditis*, they do not particularly fear the other spirit people.

The aborigines of Oenpelli, western Arnhem Land, however, believe that their countryside is inhabited with a multitude of spirit people (Mountford, 1956, p. 181), some dangerous and some harmless. This is unusual in aboriginal Australia, most tribes fearing only the spirits of the dead.

1. THE METEOR-MEN, THE PAPINJUWARIS

The *Papinjuwaris* live, with their wives and children, in a large paper-bark hut at Wangidji, a place far away to the west, where the sky ends.

The men, large and heavily built, have only one eye as bright as a star. The aborigines often see a *Papinjuwari* streaking across the sky, a blazing firestick in one hand and a fighting club in the other.

The *Papinjuwaris* are ghoulish people, who, although their food consists of bandicoots and large centipedes (Fig. 12), are always craving for the bodies of the dead and the blood of the sick to satisfy their degraded appetites.

One evening, the aborigines pointed out a brilliant meteor which they said was a *Papinjuwari*; he was taking the body of *Waniamperi*, whose grave was not far from our camp, back to his companions at Wangidji.

When a *Papinjuwari* hunts for blood, he locates a sick person (by smell), and standing some distance away (they can make themselves invisible) sucks

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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4. THE SEA-DOGS, THE WANKUIS

773 A fragment of a myth tells of how, at the close of the creation period, a mythical man, called *Kirinua*, assembled all the dogs and asked them whether they would prefer to live on the land or in the sea. The present-day dingos, the *Kirijunas*, chose the land, and others, the sea-dogs, *Wankuis*, the sandbanks in the sea.

776 The home of one group of the sea-dogs is a long sand-bar on the eastern side of the entrance to Snake Bay, about a mile from the expedition camp, over which, except at the spring tides, the waves break continuously.
[823] The aborigines look on the breaking waves as the wagging tails of the *Wankuis*.

When the tide is out in the day-time and the sandbank exposed and dry, the sea-dogs, to escape being seen go to their camps under the sand.

When it is dark, the *Wankuis* leave their watery home, come on shore and make their camps in low caves at the base of a cliff at Snake Bay (Pl. 47B). While there, the *Wankuis* capture the sea-foods of the shallow waters, sting-rays, shell-fish and crabs. The aborigines claim that on the still nights they often hear the *Wankuis* barking.

In the shallow waters of a sandbar near Cape Fourcroy, the aborigines frequently see another kind of *Wankui* which walks on three legs, waving the fourth in the air.

*532 Pl. 47D pictures the *Wankuis* at the sandbar in Snake Bay. In the centre,
776 with many teats, is the mother surrounded by her twelve sons. It is significant that there was no mention of the father.

5. THE RAINBOW, MARATJI

171 A belief in a mythical serpent-like creature, which is associated with, or is,
776 the rainbow, and is dangerous to strangers, but not to the local inhabitants, occupies an important place, not only in the mythology of the Australian
[821] aborigines, but in the mythologies of people in many parts of the world. These mythical creatures are usually highly-coloured (like the rainbow), of huge size and have both mane and beard.

I have traced these mythical creatures, in their various forms, from the River Murray in South Australia, through Central Australia to Arnhem Land. In the western deserts of Central Australia, Mountford, 1948, p. 138, writes, "The snake (*wonambi*) is a huge, many-coloured creature with a
[778] mane and a beard. It is feared . . . because it attacks all strangers who approach

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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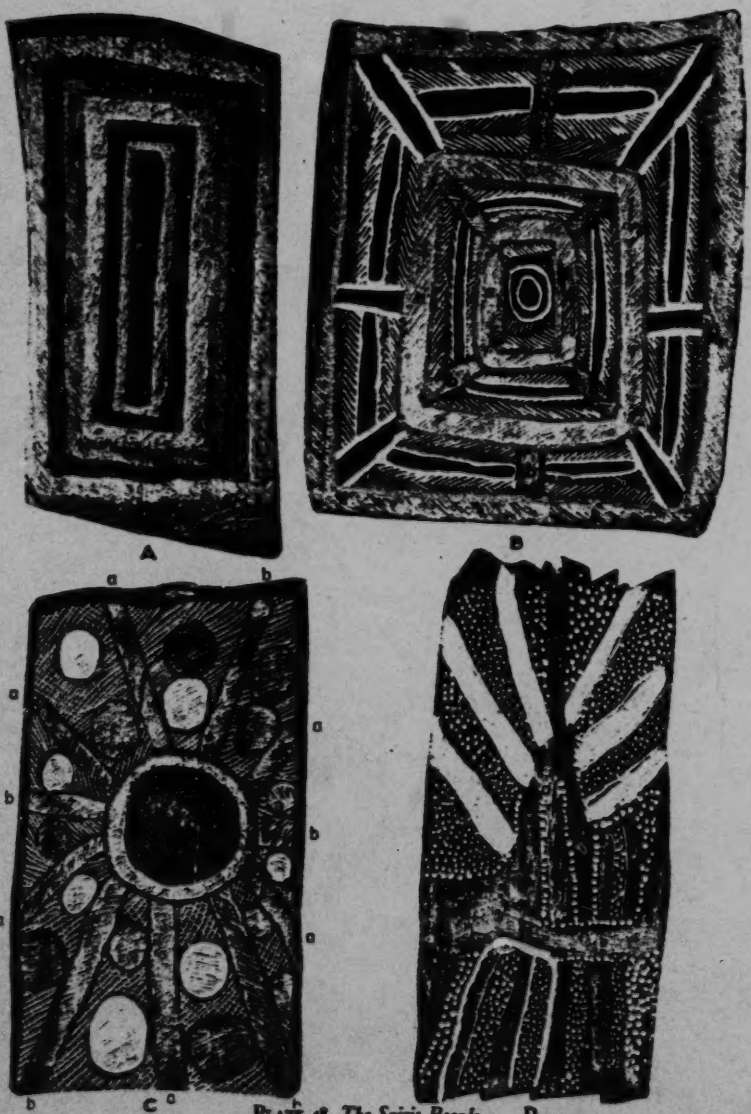

PLATE 48. *The Spirit People*

A, B, The Rainbow-spirit, Maratji, at Kulimbini; C, Maratji at Maundu; D, Maratji, at Gouse Creek.

[p. 154 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

the water in which it lives, usually calling with a deep booming note. The rainbow serpent . . . is related . . . to water, rainbow . . ." The rainbow-serpent myth is widespread throughout Arnhem Land. At Oenpelli (Mountford, 1956, p. 210), "mythical serpents live in deep waterholes. . . . The aborigines are . . . afraid of these mythical creatures for should anyone interfere with their . . . home, the serpents, particularly *Ngalois*, will make their waterholes overflow and drown everyone. The rainbow-serpent woman, *Narame*, of the Liverpool River area . . . destroys all aborigines who approach her home."

In north-eastern Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 462; Warner, 1937, p. 541) the rainbow-serpents live, in one form or another in most of the important water-holes; they are associated with water, the rainbow, lightning, and thunder. Again these serpents are usually highly coloured (like the rainbow), and have a mane and beard. The aborigines claim that they are dangerous to all strangers who approach their waterholes, and even to local aborigines who do not perform the proper rituals before drinking. On Groote Eylandt (Mountford, 1956, p. 75), however, it is a lizard, the gekko, *Ipilja-ipilja*, which takes the place of the rainbow-serpent. It is highly coloured, about one hundred feet in length, has long hair on its head and whiskers on its lower jaw. It lives in a swamp, called Numarika, on south-western Groote Eylandt. Should anyone drink from this swamp, they will surely die. *Ipilja-ipilja* is associated with thunder, thunderstorms, and rain, but not, as far as I could ascertain, with the rainbow.

The lizard-like *Maratjis* of Melville and Bathurst Islands[47] have many of the characteristics of the gekko, *Ipilja-ipilja* of Groote Eylandt[48] as well as the rainbow serpents of the Central Australian deserts, and Oenpelli, in Arnhem Land.

The *Maratjis* are highly coloured lizards, the males being up to one hundred yards in length, with horns on their heads instead of hair, and long projecting jaws in the place of beards.

Should any unauthorized person interfere with their waterholes, the *Maratjis* become annoyed. They roar loudly, make the water bubble up (like the Oenpelli serpent, Mountford, 1956, p. 210), and send a waterspout into the air which, falling as torrential rain, floods the countryside. One of the *Maratjis* then changes himself into the rainbow and travels across the land seeking to injure the offender or anyone else in its path.

[47] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 231, refers to *Maratji* as the rainbow snake.

[48] It is of interest to note that on isolated places, such as Groote Eylandt and Melville Island, these mythical creatures resemble lizards, and on the Australian mainland, and in most other places in the world, they take the form of snakes.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

776 The *Maratjis* belong to the totem of *Andjalui* (fresh water), in common with *Pakadringa* (thunderstorms), *Tomituka* (monsoon rain) and *Bumerali* (lightning). They are mortal creatures who die and disintegrate like everything else (Pl. 48D).

[123] I collected bark paintings and crayon drawings of a number of *Maratjis*, living with their wives and families in three lagoons on Melville and Bathurst Islands, i.e., Maundu, southern Bathurst Island, and Kulimbini, north-western, and Maratjiana, northern Melville Island.

776 778 The *Maratjis* of Melville and Bathurst Islands are not always of the same temperament. For instance, the *Maratjis* who live at Kulimbini (Pl. 48A) are so dangerous that should any aboriginal dare approach their water, they will steal his *imunka* (spirit), and he will die.

Although the *Maratjis* of Maundu (Pl. 48C) are feared, it is possible, if certain rituals are performed, for even a stranger to drink the water without harm; while those who live in the Maratjiana lagoon at Goose Creek, are looked upon by the aborigines as "properly quiet fellow".[49]

776 ●821 The rainbow, as a *Maratji*, however, is universally feared, the aborigines believing that the primary bow is the *imunka* (spirit) of a male, and the secondary bow, that of a female *Maratji*.

[789] If a rainbow goes too near an aboriginal camp, the occupants will quickly build up their fire[50] and call out to frighten *Maratji* away, but should he come too close, the people will feel ill and break out into a cold perspiration. If an aboriginal is overtaken by a rainbow,[51] it will kill him by taking his spirit.

Should some aboriginal be so foolish as to throw a spear at a rainbow and injure it, the *Maratjis* would destroy the whole country and the people who live in it.

776 821 648 Two heavy wind-storms, which occurred whilst the expedition was at Melville Island, were supposed to have been caused by angry *Maratjis*. The first was due to some foolish aboriginal who broke a *kulama* ceremony taboo (p. 142) by throwing some of the termite mound from the *kulama* oven into the sea. The second happened when a *pukamuni* pole, taken from a grave by one of the senior officers of the Native Affairs Branch, was being loaded on a boat for transport to Darwin.

The aborigines explained that as these poles are a gift from the living to

[49] Further research will no doubt reveal other waterholes on Melville and Bathurst Islands, inhabited by *Maratjis*.

[171] [50] This would suggest that *Maratji*, like the *Wonambi* of the Central Australian deserts, is afraid of fire (Mountford, 1948, p. 138).

[51] These conditions are, of course, impossible because the rainbow is always several feet from the observer.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

the dead, they should never be taken from him. *Maratji* was so angry over this white man's act of sacrilege that he created a heavy storm to sink the boat and so prevent the theft.

The Maratjis at Maundu

Maundu, a freshwater lagoon on the south-western shores of Bathurst Island is the home of many *Maratjis*, males, females and children, under a leader called *Orini*. The water which flows from the lagoon, across the beach into the sea, is reddish in colour. This, according to the aborigines, is stained by the faeces of the *Maratjis*.

The aborigines of the adjoining *Mandubuka* totem are the only people safe from the attacks of the *Maratjis* of Maundu. To protect a stranger who has to go near Maundu, one of the local men, wiping the perspiration from his own armpits, rubs it over his companion.

The familiar body odour misleads the *Maratjis*, who do not attack the newcomer. Should this strange aboriginal have to cross the stream that flows from Maundu to the sea, a local man first makes the water muddy, then, walking through it instructs the stranger to step in his tracks. The stranger must recompense his guide for this protection. Should the stranger become thirsty and none of the local men are with him, he can safely drink at Maundu if he first makes the water muddy. At the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi* which we witnessed at Melville Island, an elderly aboriginal, *Jibunglialumi*, whose nose had been eaten away by yaws, attributed his deformity to the attack of a *Maratji* because he drank from the clear, not the muddy water, of Maundu.

Even when a group of local aborigines has to pass the Maundu lagoon, they travel in single file, the elder men first, the younger men next, then the women and children, each adult placing his feet exactly in the footmarks of the person in front. No woman, during the period of her menses, must go near Maundu. If she did, *Maratji* would kill her. There are good ochres of many colours at Maundu but no one will use them. Tradition tells of an aboriginal, called *Alumgun*, who lost his life because he disregarded this taboo.

One side of a female *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 48c (indicated by the central hole), deals with the myth of *Maratji* at Maundu.

The central hole in the basket is the freshwater lagoon, Maundu; the radiating lines, *a*, *a*, etc., are the *Maratjis* and those at *b*, *b*, etc., strips of white sand on the bottom of the lagoon. The darker circles indicate the red (stained) water which runs from the lagoon, across the beach, into the sea, and the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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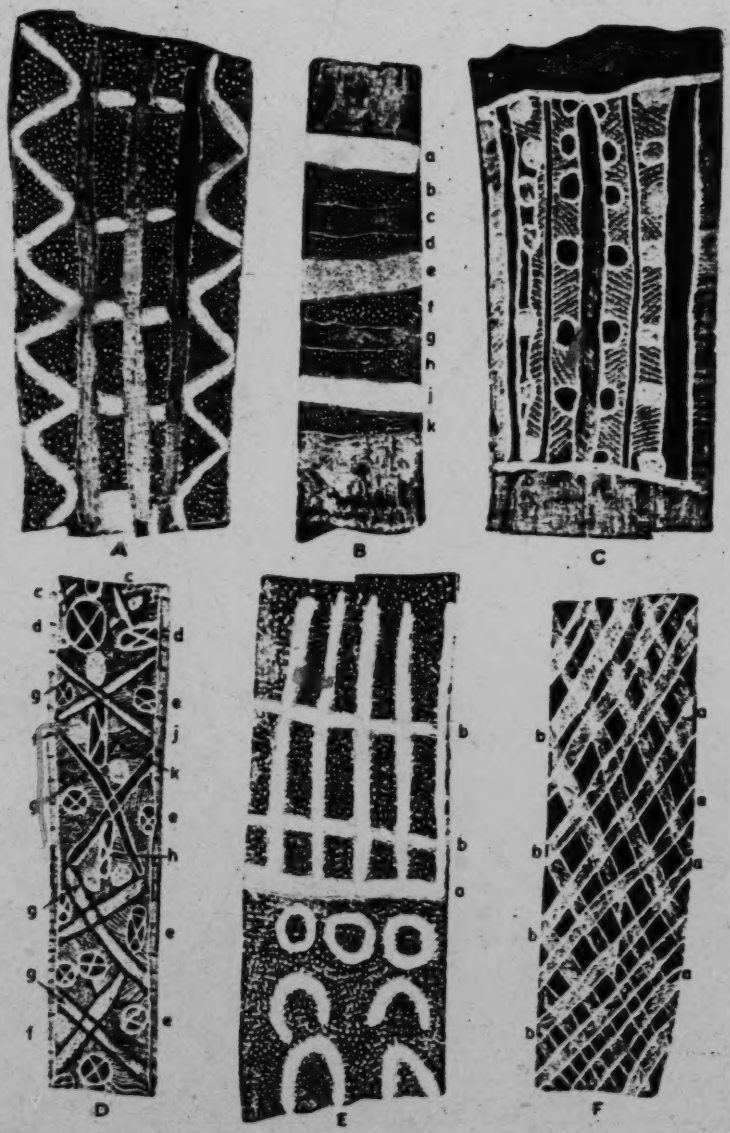

●[821]

PLATE 54. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Maratji, Goose Creek; B, Sea-shore; C, Sea and Sea-coast; D, Marine Creatures; E, Topography, Snake Bay; F, Jungle.

[p. 160 F]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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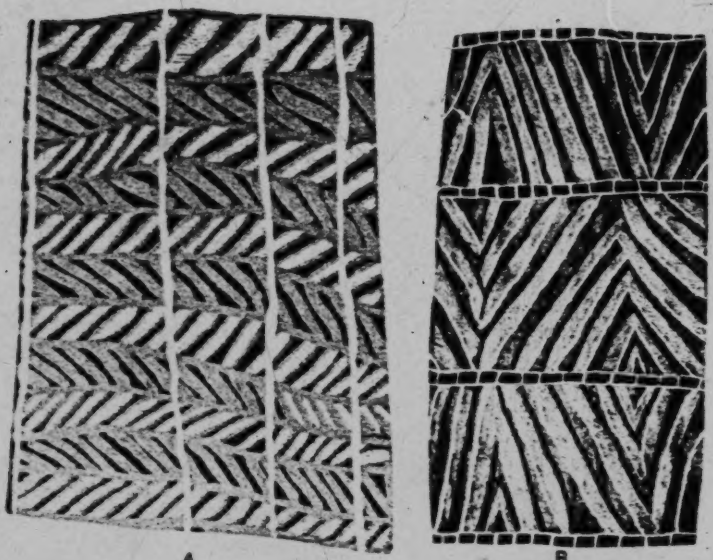

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PLATE 58. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Chevron Body Scars; B, Wet-season Sky; C, Honey-bearing Trees; D, Unidentified.

[p. 160 J]

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OI20 Tiwi OI20

The intersecting diagonal lines symbolize the trunks of those fruit-bearing trees, and the dots on the ground, a small edible berry. 532 x 137

The Poisonous Yams

Pl. 57B illustrates two of the poisonous yams, the *kulama* and the *kwani*. These yams have to be sliced and soaked in water for about three days to remove the poison. They are then edible. The dots on the background indicate grass and shrubs.

The Jungle Trees

This simple painting, Pl. 54F, represents two species of trees that grow in the jungle. The diagonal lines such as *a*, *a*, etc., leading from lower left to upper right of the painting, symbolize a large white-barked jungle tree, and those crossing at right-angles, i.e., *b*, *b*, etc., the milkwood tree. The unpainted diamonds indicate the bare ground and the small plants on the floor of the forest.

A Eucalyptus Forest

The central horizontal panel, *a*, of Pl. 54E represents a track that leads through the forest adjacent to our camp. The five vertical white lines are large eucalyptus trees in a nearby forest which have been hollowed out by the termites, the hollows being indicated by the two upper horizontal lines, *b*, *b*, in the top panel. The dots indicate grass and low shrubs.

On the lower panel, the four crescents are the new moons; the dots, the stars in the sky, and the circles, rocky outcrops. I did not find out whether these rocky outcrops were celestial or terrestrial features. [821]

A Jungle Scene, Imilu

Pl. 52E pictures the trees in a jungle at Imilu, Cape Van Diemen.

The short vertical lines, *a*, *a*, in the top and bottom panels and the short horizontal lines at *b*, on the right-hand edge are trees in the jungle, and the spaces between them, the sandy ground. The five semi-circles at *c*, on the left-hand edge and the ovals in the panels, are the trunks and branches of other jungle trees, and the cross-hatching is a carpet of fallen leaves.

Honey-bearing Trees

The painting, Pl. 58C, deals only with the honey-bearing blossoms of the trees. The long horizontal rectangle is a fallen tree in the forest and the six upright symbols, the trunks of living eucalyptus trees with their upper

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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CHAPTER VII

The Astronomy of the Tiwi

171 773 THE TIWI'S knowledge of the night sky does not appear to be as extensive as that of the aborigines of the adjoining Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, Part 6).

821 Although myths relating to the sun, the moon, the Milky Way, the stars and Orion and the Pleiades were often told, I was unable to find any relating to the Southern Cross, Scorpio, the Magellan Clouds and other constellations well-known to the aborigines of Arnhem Land.

The Universe

821 The Tiwi believe that the earth is flat, and so limited in area that, if they travel far from the shores of their tribal country, they would fall over the edge. As evidence of this they point out that, in the morning they can see *Wuriupranala*, the sun-woman, rise above the eastern rim and, at the end of the day, disappear beneath the western rim of the world.

The earth, too, is of limited thickness, the aborigines believing that, if they dug a hole sufficiently deep they would reach the lower world, *Ilara*.[66]

772 The aboriginal universe of the Tiwi consists of four levels, (*a*) a subterranean world, Ilara, (*b*) the earth on which the aborigines live, (*c*), the sky-land, Juwuku, and (*d*) an upper world, Tuniruna.

772 776 821 On Ilara where it is always dark, there are two high stony ranges with a valley between. It is along this valley that the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, and according to some informants, the moon-man, *Tjapara*, guided only by the light of their glowing torch of bark, travel each day from the western horizon to their homes in the east. As there are no plants or animals on Ilara, the celestial travellers cannot gather any food during their underground journey, although they can quench their thirst at a stream which flows from the top of one of the high mountains.

During the wet season, *Pakadringa*, the man of the thunderstorms; *Tomituka*, the woman of the monsoon rains; *Bumerali*, the lightning woman, with her husband and her many children, make their home on the sky-land,

[171] [66] I did not find a belief among the Melville Islanders, like that of the aborigines of Groote Eylandt, that the earth was a thin crust resting on the top of the water. (Mountford, 1956, p. 67.)

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Juwuku; while the sun-woman, the men of the Milky Way, the star women and the moon-man (except for a short period each month) travel daily across its surface.

Above the sky is another world, Tuniruna. This is the day-time home of numberless star women, the *Tapalinga*, and the men of the Milky Way, the *Mahdaimini*. During the dry season, *Pakadinga*, *Tomituka* and *Bumerali*, with her family leave the sky-world, Juwuku, and make their homes in Tuniruna.

Unlike the Ilara, the lowest world, Tuniruna resembles the earth except that there is no sea, although there are many freshwater streams and swamps. All the creatures and plants that live on Melville Island, with the exception of the saltwater fish, are also at Tuniruna.

Every morning the inhabitants of the upper world leave their camps, the women to gather the plant foods of the forest, the men to hunt and capture the creatures, such as freshwater fish and the geese, ducks, pelicans and jabirus, that live in the extensive swamps. Also, many fruits grow at Tuniruna, some of which were specifically named, i.e., *rakarina*, the wild plum; *tauraruina*, the white-fruited eugenia; *kinamia*, the red-fruited eugenia; *putakuma*, a small egg-shaped fruit about three-eighths of an inch long; *kworka*, cycad fruit, and the various yams.

By the time the sun-woman has sunk below the western horizon and extinguished her torch, the inhabitants of Tuniruna, the upper world, have returned from their foodgathering and are lighting their camp-fires to cook the food they have brought in. The light from these fires illuminates the upper world as brightly during the night-time as the sun-woman, with her blazing torch, illuminates the earth during the day-time.

About November, *Pakadinga*, *Tomituka* and *Bumerali* leave Tuniruna and travel from place to place in the sky-world, shedding rain on the parched earth. During this time, the aborigines claim that those with good hearing can distinguish a low "Sh . . . sh . . .", the pleasure call of the thirsty trees as their roots drink the moisture from the sodden ground. It is then that the trees and plants of the upper world, using the raindrops as a vehicle, send their spirits (analogous to the human *Pitipituis*) (p. 146), to the ground beneath, where they grow into plants similar to their progenitors in the upper world.[61] That is, all the plants and trees in the land of the Tiwi were once, as tiny spirits, dropped from the upper world, Tuniruna.

[61] I did not specifically inquire whether the creatures in the upper world also sent down their spirits in the same manner as the plants. However, as both plants and human beings have a spirit origin, it is reasonable to assume that the creatures originate in a similar manner. Further research on this subject will be of considerable interest.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

824 This belief probably accounts for the fact that I did not hear any songs chanted, or witness any ceremonies (with the possible exception of the *kulama*) that would bring about a plentiful supply of food. Nor did I hear [171] of any increase centres such as I saw on Groote Eylandt, (Mountford, 1956, pp. 84, 91), and were seen by Spencer and Gillen (1899, p. 166), and myself (1948, p. 143) in Central Australia.

The Sky and the Upper World

*532 Pl. 63D is a bark painting of the sky and the upper world, Tuniruna. 821 The central series of concentric circles represent an unidentified planet, one 772 of the wives of *Tjapara*, the moon-man; the designs, *d*, *d*, *d*, *d*, are some of the stars, *Tapalinga*; *f*, *f*, are the plum trees (already mentioned), which grow in the upper world. The radiating lines are the limbs of the plum trees.

The inner square, *b*, is the upper world, Tuniruna, the chevron patterns are the clouds in the sky, and the outer square the surface of the earth.

The groups of dots, throughout the painting, are the spirit fruits of the many trees at Tuniruna, which (as mentioned earlier), fall from the upper world to the earth beneath.

The Sun-woman, Wuriupranala

773 A myth, belonging to the early creation period, tells of how *Wuriupranala*, 776 one of the first women, was given the task of keeping alight a torch of blazing bark. When, after the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, the men and women changed themselves into creatures and plants, *Wuriupranala* became the sun-woman, who travels daily across the sky, her torch of blazing bark providing the world with light and heat.

776 However, before *Wuriupranala* sets out from the eastern horizon, she 821 powders her body with red ochre, the dust of which flying into the air, reddens the clouds of early morning.

When she reaches the western horizon, *Wuriupranala* again powders her body (this accounts for the brilliant sunsets), extinguishes her torch and rests for a while beside a celestial lagoon, Kumpinulu, before returning to the east along a path through the subterranean world, Ilara. On this journey, she is guided only by the light from the glowing end of her smouldering torch.[88]

*532 Three bark paintings, Pl. 60A, B, Pl. 61A, B, and Pl. 63A, B, deal with the 773 myth of the sun-woman.

The designs on one side of a *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 61A, B, picture the sun, 776 moon and stars.

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[88] See pp. 35, 40 for more details of the sun-woman.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The crescent, *a*, symbolises the eastern horizon, beneath which both the sun-women and moon-man have their camps; the transverse panels, *j*, *j*, *j*, indicate the western horizon.

The disc, *b*, is the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, while the black dot in the centre is her life essence, *imunka* (p. 137).

The sun-woman again is represented by the white disc, *c*, on the upper edge. This time she has several of the blazing torches, *m*, *n*, which she carries across the sky. Her many camps in the east are at *p*, *p*, etc. (lower edge).

The white oval, *h* (upper centre), is the moon-man, *Tjapara*, with his torches, shown as a series of radiating lines. Crescent, *g*, is the waxing, *f*, the waning moon, and the three adjacent squares, *e*, *e*, *e*, are places in the east where the moon-man made his camps. The cross-hatched areas, *p*, *k*, etc., indicate the men of the Milky Way, *Maludaiaiini*, and the groups of dots, such as *t*, the star-women, *Tapalingas*. At *o* (upper right) is an unidentified celestial tree.

Pl. 60A, B, pictures two suns, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala*,[80] the moon, *Tjapara* and the stars, *Tapalinga*.

One of the sun-women, *Wuriupranala*, is shown at *f* (upper edge) the circle of radiating lines, *g*, symbolizing the flames of her bark torch. At *h*, on the bottom of the painting, is the other sun-woman, *Murupiangkala* with her bark torch, *j*. The moon-man, *Tjapara*, is at *b*, his head at *e*, his shoulders at *c*, and his genitals at *d*.

The oval at *k* (upper right), is a mountain in the east from the top of which *Wuriupranala* or *Murupiangkala* alternately set out on their daily journey across the sky. The white oval at *l* (upper left) indicates the mountain on the western horizon where the sun-women rest for a while before they travel to the Kumpinulu lagoon, and prepare and eat their meal before returning to the east via the underground road, *m* (upper left).

The designs on the lower edge of the painting deal with the journey of the sun-woman, *Murupiangkala*; the white design *o*, is the mountain in the east from which she sets out on her journey across the sky; *p* represents the mountain in the west where she finishes her journey.

At *a*, *a*, etc., are the wives of *Tjapara*, the planets, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Mars. Black ovals, *s*, *s*, are dark-coloured rain clouds, and ovals, *q*, *q*, clouds reddened by sunrise and sunset light. The dots are the star-women, the *Tapalingas*, the wives of the men of the Milky Way.

Pl. 63A, B, deals with the sky journey of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

[80] The artist claimed that two sun-women travelled alternately across the sky. This however, was not the dominant belief.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

At *e*, is the sun-woman with her *imunka* (life essence) (see Pl. 61A, B). Her palm-leaf baskets are at *u* and *r* (left); her hair-string belts at *k*, *v* (bottom); a dingo-skin hair ornament is at *s* (left), and her head at *m* (top left).

The place where the sun woman appears above the eastern horizon is indicated at *f* (bottom) with her mid-day camp at *g*. There she makes a fire, *e* (the four radiating lines being the firewood), and cooks the food she has collected during the morning. Black rain clouds are indicated at *d*, and a thin cloud, which partly obscures the sun, at *h*.

The upper section of the painting deals with the evening camp *o*, of the sun-woman. Her fire and firewood are at *p*, *q*.

At *n*, on the upper left, is the daughter of the sun-woman (an unidentified star), the central dot at *m*, symbolizing her eye.

The Moon-man, Tjapara

At the conclusion of the fight between the moon-man, *Tjapara* and *Purukupali*, during creation times, the moon-man went up to the sky, bearing on his face the wounds he received at the hands of *Purukupali*.[60]

It was then *Purukupali* decreed that the whole of creation once dead, would remain dead for ever. However, *Tjapara*, the moon-man, partly escaped that decree, for, although he dies for three days every month, his life is eternally renewed.

As soon as *Tjapara* comes to life, he eats huge meals of the flesh of the mangrove crabs, which makes him grow fat and round at the end of a fortnight. However, this food makes him so ill that he sickens and dies.

The aborigines look upon the thin crescent of the waning moon as the skeleton of *Tjapara*,[61] and the body of the moon (visible by earth shine) as his spirit, *imunka*.

During his daily journey across the sky, the moon-man follows the same path as the sun-woman. He, however, carries a much smaller torch.

At one time the moon-man used to return to the east by a road just under the southern horizon. But a nest of hornets, which lived along that road, stung him so badly that he changed his path and now returns to his home by a northern route.[62]

The moon has four wives who live in the sky with him. They are the

[60] See p. 29 for details of the fight between *Purukupali* and *Tjapara*.

[61] A larval form of one of the cockroaches which curls up into an almost complete circle, is called *Tjaparalinga*, the son of the moon.

[62] Most informants, however, said that the moon returned to the east through the same underground world as the sun-woman.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

planets, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Mars. My informants were certain, however, that *Tjapara* had many more wives in his eastern camp.

When a ring forms around the moon, during moist weather, the aborigines believe the moon-man is taking part in a *kulama* ceremony. The ring is the mound of earth around the ceremonial circle, the *milimiko* (p. 134), inside of which a multitude of star people are dancing and singing the *kulama* songs.

Two bark paintings illustrate the myth of the moon, Pl. 61C, D, and Pl. 62D.

On Pl. 61C, D, one side of a *pukamani* basket illustrates the moon and the clouds.

In the centre, at *b*, is the crescent moon, *Tjapara*, the black oval, *a*, indicating his genitals. The monsoon clouds, *arutupitjina* (cumulus-nimbus) of the wet season are indicated by the six black circles, *c*, *c*, etc., and cumulus clouds, *kumbaratiga*, by the three circles on the left-hand side at *e*, *e*, *e*. The older aborigines referred to these clouds as hills in the sky. The intersecting lines, *d*, *d*, etc., are "young" cumulus clouds, which, when they appear in the sky at the beginning of the wet season, remind the natives it is time to search the trees of the forest for the hives of the wild bees.

The surface of the ground is indicated by the long rectangle, *g*, on the lower edge, and the place of the stars, by the groups of dots at *f*, *f*, etc.

Pl. 62D pictures the moon-man, *Tjapara*, and his many wives.

The central circle is the full moon, the lighter coloured crescents and ovals being the white clouds that sometimes obscure the moon at night; the dark-coloured, but similar designs are the clouds made yellow with the sunset light. The white circles are the planets, the wives of the moon man, and the dots, the stars, the wives of the men of the Milky Way.

The Moon and the Stars

Pl. 62C is a painting of the night sky. The crescent, *b*, is the new moon, *Tjapara*, and the white vertical panel, the road, along which he travels.

The larger circle on the right hand of the painting represents the morning star, probably Venus, and that on the left, the evening star. The many smaller circles are unidentified stars in the night sky. These are the wives of the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaiainii*.

The Men of the Milky Way

In creation times, certain men, the *Maludaiainii*, although each had many wives, were always sneaking off into the jungle with the wives of other men.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

773 This behaviour led to a great deal of trouble, developing later into a fight in which many of the *Maludaianini* men were wounded.

After that fight, the *Maludaianini* men rose into the sky and became the Milky Way; their wives were turned into stars.

776 When the sun-woman sinks beneath the western horison, and the light
821 from the blazing torch leaves the sky, the *Maludaianini* travel in a long line across the firmament (similar to the processional caterpillars at the beginning of the wet season), visiting their wives, the stars, as they go.

Early in the evening the men of the Milky Way rub their hands over their
[827] bodies to remove the dried perspiration. This dried perspiration, falling on the eyelids of the aboriginal people, make them heavy with sleep.[68]

x 532 Three bark paintings, Pl. 60D, Pl. 62A, and Pl. 63C, illustrate the myth of
776 the men of the Milky Way.
821 The black bars between *c*, *c*, and *c*, *c*, Pl. 60D, are the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*; the white disc, *a*, being their camp, while similar white designs, *b*, *b*, indicate the camps of their star wives.

The central white panel, *d*, is the Milky Way; the dark squares, *e*, *e*, etc., are the red clouds at sunrise and sunset, the dark-coloured vertical panels on either side of *d*, white cumulus clouds at night, and the six black discs, dark-coloured clouds, in the night sky.

Pl. 62A is another painting of the Milky Way. The circles with the radiating lines are the camp fires of the stars, the background being the shadows cast by those fires. The Coal Sack in which there are no fires, is the camp of the star women.[69]

The lighter panels, leading from the upper left to the lower right, are the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*, the darker panels, from upper right to lower left, indicate the night sky.

Reading from the left on the lower edge, panels one, three and five symbolize cumulus clouds, *Kumbaratina*, of the night sky, and two, four and six, unidentified clouds, called *aratinia*.

The dotted panels on Pl. 63C represent the men of the Milky Way, the barred panels, the "roads", i.e., dark spaces, in the galaxy, and the five horizontal panels, eucalyptus trees in the firmament.

[855] [68] The aboriginal women, to the accompaniment of a lullaby, send their children to sleep by rubbing their fingers together above the face of the child in the same manner as the *Maludaianini* do in the sky.

[69] The Coal Sack is visible at Melville Island only during the hot "wet" season, i.e. from November to March. This had given rise to the belief that the star-women, who make their camp within that heavenly spectacle, do not need fires. The same belief accounts for the fact that, within the Coal Sack there are no stars (the camp-fires of the star-women).

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Orion and the Pleiades

Pl. 62a illustrates the myth of Orion and the Pleiades. In the astronomical myth Orion, *a*, is a pack of dingoes, called *dalimini*, who are for ever chasing the *Pleiades*, *b*, a group of wallabies, *kuraka*.

The black vertical lines on either side of *a*, and *b*, starless spaces in the Milky Way, *Maludaianini*, are the trunks of celestial bloodwood trees; the short lines at right-angles, their limbs, and the dots on the background, the many spider-webs on their branches.

The large outer ovals, unidentified parts of the Milky Way, are patches of bare and grass-covered land of the sky, and the eight discs on the insides of the ovals, some of the larger stars.

Discussion

There is a wide difference between the astronomical myths of Melville Island and those of the adjacent mainland. Nor do the Melville Islanders have such a detailed knowledge of the night sky as the tribes of Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 479). This fact suggests, as do other aspects of the culture, that the natives of Melville Island have been isolated from the mainland cultures for a long time.

The effects of this isolation are most evident in two of the sky myths, i.e., the Milky Way, and the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades.

Throughout Australia, with few exceptions, the Milky Way is looked upon as a celestial river, along which the sky people travel in their canoes, and gather their food (Mountford, 1956, p. 491). No trace of this widespread myth is present on Melville Island, the Milky Way being a multitude of caterpillar men, the *Maludaianini*.

Similarly with Orion and the Pleiades. In the Australian mainland myths, Orion is a man or men, and the Pleiades, a group of women, more often than not, the wives of the men of Orion.

In the place of this widespread myth, the Melville Islanders look upon the stars of Orion as a group of dingoes chasing the Pleiades, a mob of wallabies.

Even in the myth of the moon-man, there is a reversal of the adjacent Arnhem Land beliefs. In Arnhem Land, it was the moon who brought death to the world (Mountford, 1956, p. 495; Warner, 1937, p. 523). On Melville Island, it is the moon-man, *Tjapara*, who tries to stop *Purukupali* from imposing death on all living creatures.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

An interesting thing in the Kulama is that at that ritual a man must not touch his wives or children, because a deadly sweat called *kilamini* comes from his body and will cause any of his nearest who touch it to die.[1]

Another small ritual is the Miringaleta, a puberty custom for girls; it is connected with the Rainbow snake and is also a marriage ceremony. Last of all comes the Pukamane, a death ritual, the purpose of which is to "lay the shade," *emuke:r* of the deceased person and send it back to its clan centre from its wandering around the bush in an endless "walkabout."[2] The "shade" is said to leave the body after a period when the joints begin to crack (the natives call this *Yataraka*); it then immediately hurries to the various camps, emitting a strange cry, "oom—oom." By this sound—the cry of a night bird—the natives know a person has died.

Culture Heroes. They have culture heroes: Purakapale and with him are the "dream time" heroes, Mudarti (the Kurakun of the subincized people), the wedge-tailed hawk, and numerous others all linked together in the legends of long ago; Kuparani, the frill necked lizard and his sister Ikaikgini, the black cockatoo, are characters in the incest tales.

There are also heroes who produced things and turned into animal form, Irakapa, the alligator, the maker and "boss" of the ceremonial spear—*Tumereka*. Rokama, the mosquito, the headman of the ordinary mangrove spear (*Orati*) which is used for everyday work. In making this he copied the speargrass, *Marakarti*.

The Present Day Spirits. Some spirits vitally affect their present lives. Papinowari, or Lamparapari, the destroyer—expressing in a milder form the *Kadaitja* theory of the central natives. Kala is also an ordinary spirit, in fact a shade of a departed native of prowess in the past, who is on the "walkabout." Barminuar is a quaint elusive spirit—an island Peter Pan—who never grows old, and is about the size of a small boy. He is always up to mischief; many tales are recounted of natives meeting with him and always finding him "too clever." In one place they showed me a tree where such a spirit had entered, not through a hole in the trunk, but had just passed through it, splitting it open; the split is there now.[3] The rain spirit is Pakadringa. The lightning is caused by his wife Bumarali, whose axe splits the trees. His other wife, Tomakaka, is the monsoon and when it begins the natives know it is she by the sighs (the hiss of the wind in those rains).

Magic. Their magic is somewhat the same as in other tribes. The idea differs slightly in that with them the aim is to bring the destroyer, Lamparapari, upon the victim. This is done by burning a piece of blood—a hard piece which has dried up—and letting the wind carry the smell to the victim. The latter becomes affected because Lamparapari is attracted by this smell and sucks out his blood.

[1] The name for ordinary sweat is *kulampara*. It is interesting to compare the Aaula belief; if a person is sung with magic, a white exudation appears on the skin, with deadly effect.

[2] These people have no idea of reincarnation; in their view, a spirit is eternal but is never reborn.

[3] Trees often burst like this owing to being hollow and full of water or dirt, the pressure of which bursts them open. This could have given rise to the story.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940) 1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Sickness is cured by beating the ground around the victim to hunt the evil spirit away. Likewise, a song, Upripu, is sung by the wives of the sick man to make him better. The *Kurewa*, a pointed bone, or sometimes a tomahawk is used to stab a person's urine or an article his body has touched (e.g. a bark he has lain upon to sleep) and so cause him to die. Blood thrown into the sea will cause a violent wind and a big tide. The Kulama rite will bring about the same result. No instance has been found of magic being used to entice the spirit from a person's body, yet if a person failed to show sympathy for the dead, the dead person's " shade " would cause that person to die and then run away with his " shade." To mention the name of the newly dead is taboo. If a person accidentally does this he must immediately hit his mouth and spit to cleanse it of the evil.

Names. The names given to the women and men are of three types; the first is the actual name and is given to a person at the Kulama rite; this is an ordinary word such as " honey nest," etc., but it is always in a different language from the ordinary one which is used everyday. The child also receives the name of his father, father's brother or father's sister; this is a traditional name. Then, in the case of a male, come the terms denoting his initiation grade in the Kulama. First stage—*Murakmani*; second stage—*Wadjaneta*; third stage—*Migingartiya*=first song and *Midjintera*=second song; fourth stage—*Mekearterima*=third song; and finally, *Makagala*, which denotes that the man is qualified to conduct a Kulama. Likewise, both sexes have grade names denoting their status in the Pukamane death ritual. Male terms: first stage—*waniati*; second stage—*warunerera*; third stage—*wancrderima*; fourth stage—*wanderara*. With girls and women these names are the same except for the ending denoting the sex.

In the case of women there are terms denoting age or condition. *Kudjine*—child; *alinga*—girl; *miriyaleta*—puberty; *murogarbra*—breasts developed; *piramuruha*—first sign of pregnancy; *paprungata*—pregnant woman; *wananjaka*—woman who has a child dead, and *umparu*—widow. Other terms are *pitukwen*—widower; *mentuygini* and *padrubayga*—boy and girl respectively, whose mother is pregnant; *indjula*—a woman whose breasts have fallen; and as on the mainland, a mother is always called by the sex of the child she carries in her arms: *oriowri* if a boy, *kudjine* if a girl.

Language. The language is peculiar. In many instances, owing to the masculine and feminine endings of the words, the women seem to speak a different language to the men. In addition, another language, or set of words, which is very rarely spoken, seems to obtrude itself. Thus one article will have many names. This is brought about by the strong death-taboo on names; as soon as a native dies, his names and his son's names are taboo and others are substituted. In this way every year new words are coined. Only recently at a Kulama two new ones appeared as a consequence of this taboo. *Purintariya*, new name for tree, and *alepwa*, new name for coconut. Or a Kulama name may be given as, say, *wilinkwawwa*, the meaning of which will be given as honey nest; and yet numerous words for honey are nothing